

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 13074 251009Z

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

-----251012Z 122067 /10

O 250828Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9188

S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 13074

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MNVC TECH PARM PK

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO
ON REPROCESSING ISSUE

1. BHUTTO RETURNED FROM THE PUNJAB TO HIS CAPITAL
LAST NIGHT TO SEE ME PRIOR TO DEPARTURE EARLY TODAY
FOR KARACHI AND FROM THERE TO TEHRAN TOMORROW. IT
WAS A LONG AND I BELIEVE USEFUL TALK ALTHOUGH I WAS
NOT ABLE TO ACHIEVE, AT LEAST IN THIS FIRST GO
AROUND, THE RESULTS WE HAD HOPED FOR. IN SUMMARY,
HE IS NOT PREPARED TO CONSIDER ANY PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED
DELAY, EVEN JOINTLY WITH THE FRENCH, PRIOR TO
HIS OWN ELECTIONS WHICH HE TOLD ME IN CONFIDENCE
(THE SYSTEM HERE IS SUCH THAT WE MUST PROTECT HIM
IN THIS) WOULD BE IN EARLY MARCH. HIS
WILLINGNESS TO MOVE AHEAD WITH SUCH AN APPROACH AT THAT
TIME WILL DEPEND, I WOULD JUDGE, ON THE
RELATIONSHIP HE IS ABLE TO ESTABLISH WITH THE NEW
ADMINISTRATION.

2. TO SHORTEN REPORTING SUFFICE IT SAY THAT I
USED ONE MANNER OR ANOTHER ALL THE USEFUL BACK-
ROUND MATERIAL AND TALKING POINTS PROVIDED ME
BEFORE I LEFT WASHINGTON. HE AT LEAST UNDERSTANDS,

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 13074 251009Z

I BELIEVE FAR BETTER THAN BEFORE, THE TRENDS AND
CHANGES IN ATTITUDE OF SUPPLIER NATIONS SINCE HE
CONCLUDED HIS AGREEMENT WITH THE FRENCH. HE ALSO
UNDERSTANDS THE RATIONALE BEHIND OUR REFUSAL TO
CONSIDER ADDITIONAL U.S. APPROVED SAFEGUARDS AS
A WAY OUT, ALTHOUGH HE CANNOT ACCEPT IT COMPLETELY

AND MAY STILL CLING TO IT AS A POSSIBILITY EVEN THOUGH
I TOLD HIM MY OWN CONVICTION THAT IT COULD NEVER
WORK OUT THAT WAY. ALTOGETHER MY PRESENTATION
CONTAINED SO MUCH FOR HIM TO ABSORB THAT IN THE
EARLIER STAGES OF OUR TALK I SUGGESTED HE MIGHT WANT
TO THINK ABOUT IT ALL WITHOUT FINAL DECISION
ON HIS PART UNTIL WE COULD GET TOGETHER AGAIN AFTER
HIS RETURN FROM TEHRAN. HE AGREED BUT YET PROCEEDED
TO GIVE HIS VIEWS IN A MANNER WHICH SHOWED THAT HE
HAD ALREADY FAIRLY WELL MADE UP HIS MIND BASED UPON
HIS CONSIDERATION OF YAQUB'S REPORT OF HIS TALK
WITH THE SECRETARY NOT TO MAKE ANY FINAL DECISION
BEFORE THE PAK ELECTION.

3. BHUTTO UNDERSTANDS, AND APPRECIATES, THE DESIRE
OF THE SECRETARY TO EXTEND A QUIET ROLE BOTH WITH
THE FRENCH AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, AND EVEN TO
INITIATE ACTION ON A PACKAGE DESIGNED TO HELP
PAKISTAN ENORMOUSLY IN THE ECONOMIC, ENERGY AND
SECURITY FIELDS PRIOR TO JAN. 20. BUT HE JUST COULD
NOT, AT LEAST IN THIS FIRST SESSION, RECONCILE THIS
WITH HIS OWN NEEDS, AS HE SEES THEM, OF NOT MAKING
THIS ALL AN ELECTION ISSUE FOR HIMSELF IN PAKISTAN.
HE MAKES THE POINT THAT WHILE THIS ISSUE BECAME
A MUCH PUBLICIZED ONE ELSEWHERE IN OUR OWN PRE-
ELECTION PERIOD HE REMAINED SILENT AND DID NOT TAKE
ANY ACTION TO MAKE IT WORSE OR EMBARRASS US.
NOW HE ASKS UNDERSTANDING OF HIW OWN PROBLEM AND
POINTS OUT THAT EARLY MARCH IS NOT SO FAR AWAY
ANYWAY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 13074 251009Z

RM I STILL HAVE SOME SLIGHT HOPES BECAUSE WHEN
I GOT INTO SPECIFICS IT SEEMED CLEAR THAT I WAS
COVERING NEW GROUND WITH HIM WHICH HE HAD NOT THOUGHT
THROUGH. THESE INCLUDED THE IDEA OF A POSSIBLE
JOINT STATEMENT WITH THE FRENCH ANNOUNCING DELAY
(HE KNOWS IN FACT IT WOULD BE MORE THAN THAT)
RATHER THAN CANCELLATION, CONVERSION OF THE
REPORCESSING PLANT AGREEMENT TO AN AGREEMENT ON
GUARANTEED SUPPLY OF FUEL, FABRICATION PLANT AND
POWER REACTOR ALL WITH OUR HELP ANE SUPPORT,
PLUS U.S. BILATERAL HELP, PARTICULARLY
ON SECURITY MATTERS. HE TWICE SAID THAT I WAS
SUGGESTING SOMETHING NEW. I
SAID IT WAS INDEED A NEW APPROACH FOR HIM TO
THINK ABOUT.

5. IT WAS INTERESTING THAT HE DESCRIBED HIS

OWN PAST POSITION WITH ME AS "(1) CAST IRON
SAFEGUARDS AND (2) DELAY IN BOTH STARTING AND
COMPLETION." THE LATTERPOINT HE HAD IN FACT NEVER
SO EXPLICITLY MADE TO ME. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT
EITHER HE KNOWS THAT NOTHING WILL IN FACT PROGRESS
WITH THE FRENCH FOR AWHILE OR THAT HE HAS AGREED
WITH THEM TO HOLD THINGS UP UNTIL ALL IS SOLVED
ONE WAY OR THE OTHER WITH US AND OTHERS.

6. BHUTTO OF COURSE IS A REAL COOL POKER
PLAYER AND HE KNOWS WITHOUT DOUBT THAT THE STAKES
ARE NOW HIGH. HE MAY WONDER JUST HOW MUCH WE CAN
ACTUALLY DO TOWARDS FUTURE COMMITMENTS DESPITE OUR
GOOD INTENTIONS IN THE SHORT TIME LEFT WITH US IN
THIS ADMINISTRATION. HE MAY REASON THAT A PART OF
THAT TIME (PERHAPS A GOOD PART) WOULD BE NEEDED
TO WORK OUT NEW ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE FRENCH AND
HE WOULD BE TURNING ALL HIS CARDS IN THE OPEN JUST
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 ISLAMA 13074 251009Z

IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO JAN. 20 WITH NO REAL GUARANTEE
OF WHAT CARDS THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HOLDS
OR HOW THEY WILL PLAY THEM. HE MAY ALSO FEEL THAT
HE NEEDS TIME FOR A SOBER EVALUATION OF
JUST WHAT IS IN STORE OVER THE NEXT FOUR OR POSSIBLY
EIGHT YEARS IN THE ALL IMPORTANT MATTER TO HIM
OF U.S.-PAK RELATIONS. HE FULLY KNOWS MY VIEW
THAT IT WOULD BE BEST FOR HIM TO START OUT WITH
THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WITH THIS SERIOUS ISSUE OUT
OF THE WAY. I BELIEVE REPEAT BELIEVE THAT HE FULLY
UNDERSTANDS MY CONVICTION THAT HE MOST PROBABLY WILL
NEVER GET THE REPROCESSING PLANT, BUT HE STILL
HAS ALL THESE THINGS TO CONSIDER AND THERE IS
ALSO THE PROBLEM OF THE ELECTIONS. WHILE WE MAY
FEEL CERTAIN HE WILL WIN ANYWAY, HE REMAINS A
CAUTIOUS POLITICIAN AND HE WILL RESIST
STRENUOUSLY GIVING AN ISSUE AS BIG AS THIS ONE
TO THE OPPPOSITION IN THE NEXT TEN WEEKS.

7. WE LEFT IT THAT WE MIGHT GET TOGETHER IN LAHORE
AFTER HIS RETURN FROM TEHRAN. OTHERWISE HE HAS
INVITED US FOR A LENGTHY STAY AT HIS HOME IN
LARKANA THE FIRST WEEK OF JANUARY
WHERE HE SAID WE WOULD HAVE PLENTY OF TIME TO TALK.
BYROADE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, FOREIGN RELATIONS, MEETING REPORTS, NUCLEAR COOPERATION PROGRAMS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976ISLAMA13074
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P840105-0270
From: ISLAMABAD
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761213/aaaaaljl.tel
Line Count: 164
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 OCT 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: WITHDRAWN <10 JUN 2004 by greeneet, REFER TO DOE, OSD>; RELEASED <22 OCT 2004 by SmithRJ>; APPROVED <08 NOV 2004 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO ON REPROCESSING ISSUE
TAGS: MNUC, TECH, PARM, PK, FR, US, (BHUTTO, ALI)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006